

THE MILITANT

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Independent Analysts Query Facts on Oswald

By Fred Halstead

The strong possibility that Lee Harvey Oswald was not guilty of the assassination of President Kennedy is being presented by some serious independent analyses of the circumstances surrounding the crime and the statements made in connection with it by Dallas authorities, the FBI and the Secret Service.

One is a lawyer's brief submitted to the Presidential Commission, headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren, by Mark Lane, well-known New York defense attorney and former state assemblyman. An accompanying letter urges the commission, which is investigating the assassination, to name a defense counsel for Oswald so that all aspects of the case might be pursued. (The text of Lane's brief appeared in the Dec. 19 issue of the weekly newspaper *National Guardian*.)

Can't Substitute

Lane makes the point that "no investigation, however soundly motivated, can serve as an adequate substitute for a trial." What intervenes, he says, "between the zealous investigator and the jury is due process of law," including the right to have "facts, not hopes or thoughts or wishes or prejudicial opinions, presented," and the right to "test by cross-examination the veracity of every witness and the value of his testimony." This due process of law, of course, was denied Oswald by his murder while in the custody of the Dallas police.

Lane then develops a case, much as a defense attorney might have done, and he makes many telling points. He points out that the "airtight case" claimed by Dallas District Attorney Henry Wade

immediately after Oswald was slain, was not airtight at all. Wade said at that time that Oswald's palm print appeared on the rifle, but this was later denied by federal authorities.

Wade also said Oswald's palm print was found on a box near the window from which the shots were allegedly fired. Lane points out that palm prints, unlike finger prints, are not positive identification. The box, moreover, is easily movable; no prints were found on any stationary objects near the window.

Paraffin Tests

Lane also points out that Wade claimed paraffin tests proved Oswald had fired "a gun." But the tests, as reported in the Nov. 24 *Washington Star*, revealed no traces of gunpowder on Oswald's face which there would probably result from firing a rifle. Says Lane: "The tests tended to prove Oswald had not fired a rifle recently. This fact alone raises that reasonable doubt that a jury might utilize in finding the defendant not guilty."

He also destroys the point made by Wade — and subsequently made much of in the press — that Oswald's wife allegedly said a rifle owned by Oswald was missing from its usual place the morning of the assassination. Lane points to Mrs. Oswald's statement, reported in the Dec. 8 *N.Y. Times*, that she never knew her husband owned a rifle or a pistol.

Serious doubt was cast on alleged statements by Oswald's wife by the Dec. 21 *Times*. It reports that she still is, in effect, "being held incommunicado by the Secret Service for the Department of Justice" (Continued on Page 5)



ANGOLAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS. Recruits to Angolan guerrilla forces fighting to rid their country of Portuguese tyranny. For current information on that struggle see report, page 8.

GIs Facing Grim Prospect Of Extended War in Vietnam

By Steve Graham

Dec. 25 — On a two-day visit to South Vietnam, Defense Secretary McNamara conveyed President Johnson's personal promise to the generals now running that country: the U.S. has no intention of pulling troops out of Vietnam but will keep them there as long as the generals need them.

Only three months ago McNamara announced that "the major part of the U.S. military task can be completed by the end of 1965" and 1,000 GIs would be brought home by Christmas.

That was just for home consumption. Then the discredited Ngo family was still ruling South Vietnam and many Americans were wondering why GIs were dying for a tyrant and religious oppressor. Since the U.S.-sponsored coup removed Diem, however, Washington is less worried about public feeling about Vietnam.

Reassured Generals

Then, too, McNamara had to reassure the generals who replaced Diem. They were nervous about talk of U.S. troops pulling out and rumors of a "neutralist" solution for Vietnam.

There was also an efficiency angle to his trip. President Johnson said at his Dec. 7 press conference that McNamara's trip to Vietnam was nothing to be concerned about. It was "just to make



Sec'y of Defense McNamara

a few checks out there . . . just to be sure we are getting maximum efficiency."

The "efficiency" he was talking about was described by Hedrick Smith in the Dec. 20 *New York Times*. "A number of United States officials have voiced grave fears about the prospects of winning the war unless the new government moves with greater vigor in the weeks ahead."

The military crisis is candidly described in a lengthy article in the Dec. 23 *Times* by David Hal-

berstam, recently back from a 15-month assignment in South Vietnam. He tells how the peasant guerrillas hold the initiative in most rural areas. "In regions they effectively control, they levy taxes, obtain food, redistribute land and recruit reinforcements."

"The junta must beat the guerrillas back in the coming dry season or they may never get another chance to do so," says Halberstam. That apparently was McNamara's message for the generals. He spoke approvingly of an offensive and, before boarding his plane, told Defense Minister Gen. Tran Van Don, "Now let's be real tough."

The general plan of the offensive can be gathered from the Dec. 21 *N. Y. Herald Tribune*. "The junta's forces are expected to concede — temporarily — the areas where the guerrillas are strongest, and concentrate on dislodging them where their foothold is weakest." The offensive will apparently be concentrated on three or four provinces adjacent to Saigon, around which, the rebels, growing in strength, have drawn an iron ring

No Easy Matter

Such an offensive will be no easy matter. "If the junta is to win," says Halberstam, "it must wage a bitter and costly war in the next six months; it must actively seek out, engage and pursue the guerrillas, and it must accept casualties far heavier than the Diem regime would accept, testing to the utmost the strength of the nation in fratricidal conflict."

That is why the junta, much to its U.S. counselors' chagrin, has been slow to take the offensive. The generals are only too well aware of the popular outburst or mass desertions that heavy casualties might provoke. Most of their troops are simple peasants who serve because they are fed but have no desire for risking their lives to kill fellow peasants.

No doubt, the general agreed to risk a big offensive only on the firm guarantee of U.S. military support. They undoubtedly demanded more U.S. troops. That Johnson and McNamara had to go into reverse so abruptly on the fine promises about bringing the GIs home shows the gravity of the crisis U.S. imperialism faces in Vietnam.

SNCC Offices Raided By Cops in Selma, Ala.

SELMA, Ala., Dec. 20 — The sheriff of Dallas County, the County Solicitor and four policemen raided the office of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee here today and arrested nine people.

The same officials also broke into "Freedom House" — a three-room apartment used to house SNCC workers here, and "completely wrecked" it, according to one SNCC worker.

Willie C. Robertson, 24, who was arrested in the SNCC office this afternoon, said Sheriff Jim Clark tore a telephone from the wall and pushed SNCC worker James Austin, 21, against a window. Robertson and Sheriff Clark told Austin, "We've been after you for a long time."

The police also confiscated materials and affidavits from the office files, including a large number of leaflets promoting a selective-buying campaign in Selma. Earlier this week, a federal judge refused to allow Dallas County officials to subpoena the organization's records.

Arrested were Frank Spivey, 18; Louise Johnson, 22; Joseph Pickett, 16; David Murray, 25; Alvery Williams, 21; and Austin and Robertson. Also jailed were J. D. Pritchett Sr., and J. D. Pritchett Jr., printers who prepared the selective-buying leaflets.

John Lewis Jailed in Atlanta

John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was one of four SNCC members arrested during a sit-in demonstration in Atlanta, Ga., Dec. 22. The freedom fighters were charged with violating the state's anti-trespass law when they refused to leave the Toodle House, an Atlanta restaurant.

All were charged with "illegal circulation of literature promoting a boycott." All were released on \$500 bail. SNCC has conducted an extensive voter-registration drive in Dallas and Wilcox counties since January, 1963. Negroes are 57.7 per cent of Dallas County's population, but only 0.9 per cent of voting-age Negroes are registered, according to a report of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. The U.S. Justice Department filed suit over two years ago charging Sheriff Clark, the solicitor and the White Citizens Council here with (Continued on Page 4)

BIGOTRY IN USSR?

African Student Protest in Moscow

By Adam Knox

The demonstration in Moscow's Red Square by African students, protesting race prejudice and charging a police whitewash of the death of a fellow-student, comes as a shock to those who believed that race and national prejudices had disappeared in the Soviet Union.

But the best judges of whether prejudice exists are the minority people who suffer under it. The African students' statements and placards — whether their suspicions about the death of their fellow-student prove true or not — testify that they have encountered a considerable prejudice among Soviet citizens.

This reflects upon the leaders of the Soviet Union. For they must be charged not only with tolerating overt acts and attitudes of racism against the African students, but with delinquency in educating and inculcating into the Soviet public those beliefs in the equality and solidarity of all peoples and races which were guiding stars of the Bolshevik Revolution.

"About 500 young men and a few girls," reported the *New York Times*, "swarmed through two

police roadblocks to reach a main gate of the Kremlin" in order to present a petition condemning the alleged killing of a Ghanaian medical student. The student, 29-year-old Edmond Asare-Addo — scheduled to marry a Russian girl against the wishes of her parents — had been found dead at a crossroads ten miles north of Moscow.

The students reportedly shouted, "It's a matter of white against black — the same thing all over the world!" Members of the group sought not only an investigation of the student's death, but also to impress on Soviet officials that they felt that their "physical safety was threatened." "African students get beaten up every day," one of them said.

The *Times* noted that "there had been no such angry demonstrations in Red Square since the late 1920s when supporters of Leon Trotsky, Stalin's rival, protested his removal from Soviet leadership." That the students were able to overcome police resistance and to demonstrate is another indication of the weakening since Stalin's death of the political repression in the USSR. No doubt, many (Continued on Page 6)

BOOK REVIEW

The Joy and Courage of Freedom Songs

WE SHALL OVERCOME. Compiled for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee by Guy and Candie Carawan. New York: Oak publications, 112 pp., \$1.95.

Freedom Songs have become an essential part of the civil-rights movement. Many freedom fighters have told of their experiences in situations where freedom songs gave them and their fellow strugglers courage to face the white mobs, the jail cells, the hoses, dogs and electric cattle-prods.

This book will give every reader the joy and courage of the Freedom Songs. It is filled with the words and music of songs, text and pictures of the Southern struggle. Each chapter represents a different phase in the struggle: Sit-Ins; Freedom Rides; Albany, Georgia; Voter-Registration; and Greenwood-Birmingham. Under each chapter are found the songs that became popular or were composed during that particular struggle.

Old and New

Such well known songs as *We Shall Overcome*, *Dog-Dog, Oh Freedom*, *Woke up This Mornin' with My Mind on Freedom*, and *Keep Your Eyes on the Prize*, are all here along with less known ballads. There are also newer songs like *We'll Never Turn Back*, written in commemoration of Herbert Lee who was shot to death by a Mississippi state representative.

*We've been 'buked and we've been scorned
We've been talked about sure's
you're born . . .
We have hung our heads and
cried
For those like Lee who died
Died for you and died for me
Died for the cause of equality
But we'll never turn back
Until we've all been freed.*

Descriptions of how the freedom songs affect the movement are given. "SNCC field secretaries who helped start the demonstrations say that much of the success of the Albany Movement can be attributed to the role that singing played . . . Through songs they expressed years of suppressed hope, suffering, even joy and love. At first just a few people came, but as the arrests continued and news of these meetings with their exciting singing spread to the community the meetings became packed and they had to use two churches to hold everyone."

Frequent Experience

The everyday life of SNCC workers is also described. "I received a call from an individual who identified himself as speaking for the White Citizens Council. He told me, 'If you take anybody else to register, you'll never leave Greenwood alive.' I get such calls with some frequency. — Sam Block in a routine report to the SNCC office."

Charles Wingfield, a Georgia



Photo by Danny Lyons

OH, FREEDOM! Danville, Va., freedom fighters lift their voices in song.

high-school student says: "Soon our home was fired into and we had to get armed friends to help protect our house at night . . . Then Shady Grove Baptist Church was burned. We had held . . . meetings there . . . (on) voter registration."

Sheriff Z.T. Mathews, when he broke up a mass meeting in Terrell County remarked, "We are a little fed up with this voter-registration business . . . we want our colored people to live like they've been living for the last hundred years — peaceful and happy."

One of the freedom songs com-

ments on just how "happy" the Negro people of the south are:

*You know I'm tired of segregation
and I want my equal rights
Segregation did me wrong,
made me leave my happy home
That's why I'm fighting for
my rights, Fighting for my rights.*

All those interested in the struggle for equality and dignity will want this book. It can be obtained by writing: SNCC, 156 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y.

—Alice Lawrence

A New Yorker Runs Afoul of the Law While Minding His Own Business

Felix Pizzaro, a Puerto Rican, is suing the city of New York for \$250,000 for false arrest. He has also complained to the Civilian Complaint Review Board of the police department about abuse by the police.

Pizzaro, who came here from Puerto Rico ten years ago, has a tiny grocery store on the lower East Side, near the Williamsburg Bridge. He had never had any trouble with the police before last Aug. 31.

On that day he was playing with his daughter outside the store when three plainclothes men jumped out of a police car and grabbed two men walking by, pushed them into a doorway and searched them for policy (gambling) slips. Then, according to Pizzaro, the cops went through his pockets and wallet and, finding no slips, let him go. All this was observed by his mother, his wife, a plumber at work in the store who looked out to see what was happening, and two friends, according to the *New York Post* of Dec. 6.

Missed License

Later, checking through his wallet, Pizzaro missed his driver's license and accompanied by the two friends, went to the police station, believing the cops had taken it by mistake.

Before he could explain why he had come, he was arrested in the presence of the one of the plainclothes men who had been in the

patrol car. His friends were ordered to leave immediately if they didn't want to be arrested. Pizzaro was accused of having tried to keep the cops from arresting the policy runners by obstructing the entrance to his store and of possessing policy slips. The latter charge was subsequently thrown out.

At the trial the plainclothes man testified that Pizzaro had been arrested in the store. Five witnesses testified to the contrary and that, after Pizzaro had been searched on the street, the police had let him go.

On Nov. 14 Criminal Court Judge Impellitteri pronounced Pizzaro guilty. He is to be sentenced later this month.



THE NATIONAL

PICKET LINE

Profit-sharing is far from profitable according to UAW members working for the American Motors Corporation in Kenosha, Wisconsin. Under a contract signed two years ago, workers receive part of their income in stocks, the amount of which is determined by company profits. The company has admitted that it thought it would benefit from increased production if the men felt that they owned part of the company. Another surer production boost was guaranteed when workers had to give up five minutes a day wash-up time.

Said repair man Jimmy White: "I've worked it all out on paper. We just aren't getting that much more. We give up five minutes a day wash-up time. I figure to a man like me that means \$184.40 over the past two years, and I got maybe \$224 saved up for me in stocks. Now how big a gain is that?"

According to a survey printed in the *Detroit Free Press*, 40 out of 45 American Motors workers interviewed were opposed to the profit-sharing contract. Yet two years ago Walter Reuther bragged that it was the "most significant collective-bargaining agreement ever written in U.S. history."

Discrimination against Negroes, union nepotism, and collaborating with the bosses was revealed at a recent hearing of the N.Y. State Commission for Human Rights. Target of the hearing was Local 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers of America.

According to reports, 90% of apprentice applicants are relatives of union members, 10% are close friends of members, and no Negroes have been admitted to the union except for two — in the 1930s.

Commission Vice Chairman Bernard Katzan suggested that three management members of a six-man union-management committee named to select new trainees "acted as dummies," or front men, to keep the above practices going.

Mike Quill, President of the AFL-CIO Transport Workers Union, has a reputation for opening contract negotiations with militant and necessary demands, only later to find a convenient gimmick for saddling rank-and-file transit workers with a contract far short of their goals.

When negotiations were opened with the New York City Transit Authority several weeks ago Quill announced that one of the main demands would be the four day (32 hour) work-week. He answered arguments that this would result in increased subway and bus fares by proposing a free public-transportation system subsidized by the city and state. He made it clear, however, that free transportation was not to be an issue in negotiations.

On a TV interview Dec. 15, Quill indicated that he was again, as in so many other negotiations, backing down and preparing for a "package deal" with the Transit Authority. "We believe that the four-day week should be grabbed at by the commissioners of the Transit Authority," he said. "They're damn lucky we're not asking for the 25-hour week right now."

Later in the interview he added, "However, if we don't get the four-day week, we will be very disappointed." He then rambled on about how the shorter work-week was part of a "package deal," and if we don't get a "package deal" there will be a strike when the contract expires New Year's Eve.

One of the things that may be



Michael Quill

forcing Quill to back down, is opposition from another organization. On Dec. 15, the Commerce and Industry Association of New York threatened that "if the leadership of the Transport Workers Union carries out its threat to strike illegally," it will go to court "to see that the law against strikes by public employees is enforced." This big business outfit was referring to the notorious Condon-Wadlin Act which permits any anti-labor tax-payer to ask court action.

Last fall, the New York Federation of Teachers was threatened with a similar attack while deadlocked in negotiations with the school board. The teachers openly defied the threat by proceeding with strike plans and their militancy was rewarded by a new contract with substantial gains.

The Office Employees International Union (OEIU) which represents 2,000 waterfront clerical workers has announced it will do all in its power to prevent steamship companies from forcing clerks to work as scabs during waterfront strikes. OEIU Secretary-Treasurer Ben Cohan said his union will also offer legal and other assistance to non-union clerks who refuse to scab.

The office union was referring to the use of clerks as baggage handlers in six work stoppages by the International Association of Longshoremen during the period 1954-60.

NY Forum Will Hear Sheppard on Algeria

NEW YORK — Barry Sheppard, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, will speak on the Revolution in Algeria at a forum here Friday, Jan. 3, 8:30 p.m. It will be held at the Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place.

From New York Sheppard will leave on a coast-to-coast speaking tour that will take him to major cities and campuses to address meetings of students and young workers interested in socialist political action.

Sheppard, 26, is a graduate of MIT and was elected national chairman of the YSA at its convention in 1961. He is author of the new pamphlet, *For Socialism*, a detailed exposition of the program of the Young Socialist Alliance which will soon be available from the Young Socialist Forum, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York 3, N. Y. at 40 cents a copy.

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A SPEECH BY YEVTUSHENKO

Poet Urges Drive on Soviet Anti-Semitism

By George Saunders

We reprint below the transcript of an exchange between the outspoken young Soviet poet, Yevgeny Yevtushenko, and Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev. The occasion was the much-publicized meeting of Dec. 17, 1962, between Soviet officials and a group of leading artists and writers. This was right at the start of the official campaign against "abstract art" and "bourgeois ideological influences."

The Soviet press did not publish what the intellectuals at that meeting had to say. Only a list of those who spoke and the text of the main address by Leonid F. Ilyichov, a top official, were published. But transcripts of the exchange between Yevtushenko and the Soviet premier were typed up, presumably from notes of those present, and circulated widely in Soviet cities in typewritten form — common enough in that country for literature not officially published. Several versions of the transcript reached the West.

The version below appeared in this country in the December *Commentary*, 1963, monthly publication of the American Jewish Committee. Other reports indicate that additional remarks were exchanged between the poet and the premier, but they do not diverge from the essential views that both express here on anti-Semitism and abstract art. Khrushchev himself — in a speech March 8, 1963, at another meeting between officials and intellectuals — indicated that anti-Semitism and abstract art were indeed the topics of discussion with Yevtushenko on Dec. 17.

Accurate Report

There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the views expressed here. Yevtushenko has expressed himself in a similar vein in his uncensored autobiography, written not long after the Dec. 17 meeting, and published in France in March 1963. There is no reason to doubt that the poet dared express those views before the highest powers in the land. He took more of a risk and suffered heavier consequences by having his autobiography published, uncensored and abroad.

As for Khrushchev's remarks, they are no different from views he has publicly stated at other times, for example, in his March 8 speech, in which he declared: "There is no Jewish question in our country."

At this point a few comments are necessary on the question of Soviet anti-Semitism. In the short space of an introduction one cannot review the factual evidence of its existence, although it is considerable. One can only comment on the significance of its existence.

The Soviet government in recent years has repeatedly protested against and denied charges from abroad that significant anti-Semitism exists in the Soviet Union, either on an official or

unofficial level. But the government's position has been called into question by voices right within the country protesting anti-Semitism. Yevtushenko's is only one of the most recent.

In 1956 the popular, elderly, Soviet novelist, Konstantin Paustovsky, openly accused Soviet officialdom of anti-Semitic views "of a kind worthy of pogrom-makers." In 1959, novelist Victor Nekrasov, whom Khrushchev honored with public denunciations this year, protested against plans to cover over the site of the Babi Yar massacre, where Nazi occupation forces killed some 40,000 Jews. A sports stadium was to be built there — as though nothing had ever happened.

'Babi Yar' Controversy

The controversy over Babi Yar grew greater when Yevtushenko's moving poem against anti-Semitism was published in September 1961. It begins: "At Babi Yar there are no monuments . . ." Whereas at the sites of Auschwitz and Buchenwald there are monuments to recall the horrors that occurred there, the Soviet government has not marked the site of Babi Yar. This has been taken as a sign of official indifference to, or encouragement of, anti-Semitism.

Yevtushenko's *Babi Yar*, has been officially criticized for "political immaturity." Nevertheless, crowds of young people who attend the readings of this most popular poem have made *Babi Yar* a special favorite. Sometimes five readings of it are requested in one night.

The prominent composer, Shostakovich, chose to include the poem in a choral symphony first played in December 1962. The symphony was closed down and Shostakovich accused of "rummaging in the garbage cans of the backyards of our life." It was performed again in February 1963 with the poem slightly re-written on official demand. But little has been heard of the symphony since, and the poem has not been included in collections of Yevtushenko's verse, nor has any "revised edition" been published.

The concern of non-conformist Soviet intellectuals and young people with the Jewish question is also apparent in many pieces of literature which, unable to pass the Soviet censors, have found their way into print in Western Europe and the U.S. Like Yevtushenko, most of these authors, anonymous as well as known, are critical of some aspects of Soviet life but are certainly not anti-Soviet.

The most encouraging thing this transcript shows is that the sentiment against anti-Semitism is strong enough among Soviet intellectuals and youth that a spokesman for this group, Yevtushenko, dares openly demand the government do something about it. This outcry against anti-Semitism is part and parcel of the movement

against Stalinism. Those who voice it, recognize, as Yevtushenko does, that present-day anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union is a heritage of the Stalin era.

Stalin was identified with anti-Semitism from the start of his rise to control over the Soviet Communist Party. He used anti-Semitism in his faction fight against his leading opponents, Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev, who were Jewish. The Stalin faction, once it had gained control of the party and turned it into a nationally-selfish nest of privileged officials, indifferent to the needs or wishes of the workers, found anti-Semitism useful in maintaining its power and privileges, suppressing opposition and dividing the workers.

Stalin and his government apparatus engaged in a particularly vicious anti-Semitic campaign in the years 1947-1953. Jewish intellectuals were insulted and victimized as "cosmopolitans without a fatherland." Their patriotism was called into question. In the early 1950s the cream of Soviet Yiddish writers were shot by Stalin's firing squads.

Bloodiest Purge

Stalin died on the eve of what promised to be the bloodiest purge trial of all — the "Doctors' Plot." In early 1953, a whole group of eminent Soviet physicians, mostly Jews, were accused of conspiring with international imperialism to poison Soviet leaders on the orders of an alleged "Zionist conspiracy" headed by an American Jewish agency.

Although Stalin's successors immediately exonerated the accused and called off the purge preparations, no official document or statement by party or government has explained or even denounced the anti-Semitism of the Doctors' Plot and all that preceded it. By contrast, many other "negative" features of Stalin's rule have been officially condemned.

Yevtushenko's demand for "criminal proceedings against the anti-Semites" is especially significant in the light of the anti-Semitic excesses of Stalin's last years. Many who participated actively in those crimes still hold prominent positions in the art and cultural worlds. They have no more been penalized than have the crimes themselves been officially condemned. Thus Soviet laws against anti-Semitism seem to be of little more avail against "local custom" than is the 14th Amendment in the South in this country.

This is not to say, of course, that the Soviet Union is no different from racist imperialism. It is far different. The essence of the great social gains of the October Revolution remains, and a strong, as yet unorganized, current in Soviet society is pressing for the restoration of Soviet democracy as Lenin envisioned it.

Hurts Soviet Union

But, as Yevtushenko says, anti-Semitism hurts the Soviet Union in the eyes of the progressive world, those attracted by the positive, socialist features of the Soviet Union.

Yevtushenko and many other Soviet youth admire the Cuban Revolution as a "model for the world." He has written poems praising the internationalist spirit of the revolutionary island, its abolition of racial discrimination, the courage of the young revolutionaries there who gave up their lives in the fight for truth. In his autobiography he linked his admiration for Cuba with his own fight against anti-Semitism, in the words of an old man who had been a Bolshevik since 1905.

The old Bolshevik addressed the young poet:

"What you have said about Cuba and what you have written about



Photo by George Saunders

MEETS PRESS. Yevgeny Yevtushenko is interviewed by newsmen at 1962 World Youth Festival in Helsinki.

Babi Yar are one and the same. Both are the Revolution. The Revolution we once made, and which afterward was so betrayed, yet which still lives and will live on. I spent 15 years in one of Stalin's concentration camps, but I am happy to see that our cause, I mean the cause of the Bolsheviks, is still alive."

Yevtushenko: First of all I want to thank the leaders of the Party and the government for kindly making it possible for me to speak here. Permit me to begin my speech with a verse which I wrote not so long ago which I consider very timely. [Recites the two last lines of the poem, "Babi Yar."]

In my blood there is no Jewish blood.

But all anti-Semites hate me with

Encrusted spite as if I were a Jew.

And because of that — I'm a true Russian.

Khrushchev: Comrade Yevtushenko, this poem has no place here.

Yevtushenko: Respected Nikita Sergeevich, I especially selected this poem and with the following purpose in mind. We all know that no one has done more than you in the liquidation of the negative consequences of the Stalin cult of personality and we are all very grateful to you for this. However, one problem yet remains which is also a negative consequence of those times, but which today has not yet been resolved. This is the problem of anti-Semitism.

Khrushchev: That is not a problem.

Yevtushenko: It is a problem, Nikita Sergeevich. It cannot be denied and it cannot be suppressed. It is necessary to come to grips with it time and again. It has a place. I myself have been witness to such things. Moreover, it came from people who occupy official posts, and thus it assumed an official character.

We cannot go forward to Communism with such a heavy load as Judophobia. And here there can be neither silence nor denial. The problem must be resolved and we hope that it will be resolved. The whole progressive world is watching us and the resolution of this problem will even more greatly enhance the authority of our country.

By resolution of the problem I mean the cessation of anti-Semitism — [here there is a gap where the transcript was not clear], along with instituting criminal proceedings against the anti-Semites. This positive measure will give many people of Jewish nationality the opportunity to take heart and will lead us to even greater success in all areas of Communist construction.

I would like to say a few words about abstract painting and our artists. I think that our young artists have acted incorrectly in organizing the "underground exhibition" and inviting foreign cor-

respondents to it. This was done without forethought and deserves wide-spread censure. We also cannot permit our artists to sell their works abroad. This can only be a blow to our prestige and our art.

But I want to say that we must have great patience with this abstract trend in our art and not rush to suppress it, for the result may be the opposite. I know the artists in question, I know their work, and I can emphasize that side by side with the abstract aspect, they are attracted to the realistic manner of expression. I am convinced that several formalistic tendencies in their work will be straightened out in time.

Khrushchev: The grave straightens out the hump-back.

Yevtushenko: Nikita Sergeevich, we have come a long way since the time when only the grave straightened out hump-backs. Really, there are other ways. I think that the best way is to display patience and tact and give examples of how to work at our art. I think that we should permit the existence of various schools in painting and let art, our Soviet art, progress in the arguments among them. Artists, like writers and musicians, are most sensitive to any pressure. Therefore, it is best not to resort to it. Everything will remain in its place.

Khrushchev: I don't believe that you personally like abstract art.

Yevtushenko: Nikita Sergeevich, there are all kinds of abstractionism. What is important is that it should not be charlatanism. I submit that a situation can occur when it would not be possible to convey the newest trends of our epoch in the old manner of writing. I must openly admit that I do not like our portrait painting although it is realistic.

I very much respect those comrades who are depicted in these portraits, but the portraits themselves seem to me to be ordinary color photographs incapable of stirring the viewer. I cannot permit the idea, Nikita Sergeevich, that you can like the tastelessly drawn picture, "N.S. Khrushchev Among the Workers."

The latest period of my life has been closely linked up with Cuba. I like Cuban abstract art very much. It would be good if we would organize an exhibition of Cuban art. Cuban abstract art is very popular among the Cuban people and their leaders. Fidel Castro is attracted to it.

Cuban abstract art is helping the Cuban revolution and is walking in step with it. I think that our art, including the abstractionists, is also going in one straight line of fighters for Communism. I appeal not for appeasement, but I call for self-restraint, for the deepened study of the theory and practice of modern art, and in the final analysis, a consolidation of the forces of literary and artistic workers for the good of our country.

Thank you for your attention.

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Monday, December 30, 1963

Johnson's Proposed 'Revolution'

In his Dec. 17 speech to the United Nations, President Johnson said that at the beginning of his political career he had participated in a "profound but peaceful revolution" for the benefit of the one-third of Americans who were then "ill-housed, ill-clad and ill-nourished." "Now, on the world scale," he continued, "the time has come, as it came to America 30 years ago, for a new era of hope — hope and progress for that one-third of mankind that is still beset by hunger and poverty and disease."

UN diplomats, blasé to the ceremonial expressions of idealism, regarded this and his wish that the cold war and arms race would give way to peace and good will as lofty but empty generalities.

In the otherwise uncritical U.S. press, James Reston, Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*, wrote a column somewhat along the lines of doctor-cure-himself. He pointed out that 5.9 per cent of U.S. workers are unemployed and "about 20 per cent, or 30 million, are living on what the government calls poverty standards." Hunger, disease and poverty "are also the enemies of one-fifth of the people of the U.S."

Pointing to the outcry over the recent decision to close a few military bases, Reston indicates the unemployment problem that would arise if the cold war really ended.

Though Johnson calls it a "revolution," the New Deal dealt only in multi-lettered aspirin tablets and temporary transfusions to the economy. It took World War II to "cure" the depression. Similarly, present "prosperity" is based on the huge armaments expenditures. Many American workers are barely surviving the present "prosperity." To permanently banish "hunger, disease and poverty," they will have to make really fundamental social changes — that will be a true revolution, a socialist revolution.

The High Court and McCarranism

The U.S. Court of Appeals decision, reversing the conviction of the Communist Party for not registering under the McCarran Act, is a limited victory for civil liberties.

It is a victory because it permits the Communist Party to function openly, without having to subject itself to the harsh, vindictive, humiliating and oppressive terms that go with registering as a "foreign agent" under the McCarran Act. No political party could submit to such indignities nor do U.S. constitutional guarantees of free speech and assembly rightfully permit such trampling of political freedom.

It was only a limited victory for several reasons. First, the same court upheld, in related cases, registration orders against four organizations labeled "Communist-front." These rulings are being appealed.

Another limitation lies in the very basis of the court's decision. It was based on the Fifth Amendment, which prohibits self-incrimination. The court argued that congressional legislation on the Communist Party had made it a "criminal conspiracy" in the eyes of the law. Hence, to register as an officer of it would be to incriminate oneself.

So long as a political party can be labeled a "criminal conspiracy" by the politicians in Congress, political freedom in this country is a farce. If one party or group can be so labeled, what is to prevent others from being labeled? It must be the goal of the labor movement, civil-rights organizations and all who uphold the true traditions of democracy to wipe such thought-control, witch-hunt laws as the McCarran, Smith and related acts off the books. They are a threat to the political freedoms of all of us.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Chicago	\$1,300	\$1,500	118
Connecticut	200	223	111
Denver	100	111	111
Allentown	150	150	100
Baltimore	120	120	100
Boston	600	600	100
Cleveland	650	650	100
Detroit	700	700	100
Los Angeles	4,300	4,300	100
Milwaukee	250	250	100
New York	4,300	4,300	100
Philadelphia	300	300	100
St. Louis	100	100	100
San Diego	300	300	100
San Francisco	650	650	100
Seattle	500	500	100
Minneapolis/St. Paul	850	850	100
Oakland/Berkeley	600	535	89
Newark	200	95	47
General	100	118	118
Totals through Dec. 23	\$16,270	16,352	100

A Teacher Speaks Up on Education

Use a Set of Dice for Math?

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT — A radically different approach to education was proposed at a recent Friday Night Socialist Forum here by Hugh Whipple, an instructor at Wayne State University, special writer for the *Detroit Courier*, and a participant in last summer's teachers' strike at the Detroit Institute of Technology. Whipple spoke Nov. 22 on "Education and the Negro Ghetto."

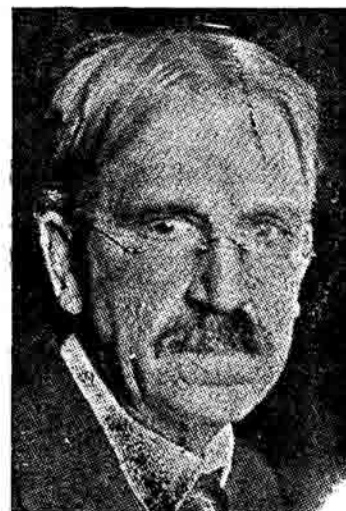
Some of the novel ideas he proposed were: "Mathematics could be taught through gambling. That's a good way to teach laws of probability. Once you get students interested in math in this way, you can lead them into more abstract ideas about numbers and the manipulation of numbers . . ."

"Children need a direct confrontation with their environment. They ought to look at it, write about it and think about it under the auspices of the schools . . . Throw out the grammar books and have children write about themselves, about their meaningful experiences . . . Children in the ghetto can't be protected from their environment — so throw the unrealistic school books away and take the students into the streets. Have them talk to the prostitutes — they see them every day on the way home."

"Take them to the police station and have them ask the police how they deal with vice. Have them ask why crime prevention doesn't work . . . The children — and the parents — in the inner city need to look in detail into their past and their present, they need to examine their environment in order to gain control over it. If anyone is going to change their environment, they are going to have to do it themselves. No one else gives a damn."

Whipple's main objection to modern schools is that they do not prepare the students to live in the real world of today or the near future. Quoting from school texts used in the lower grades and high school, he showed how these books present an unrealistic picture of America. Children in the ghetto learn to read from books which picture "Pleasant Street" in a sunny, all-white suburb with wide green lawns, big parks and friendly policemen.

He read sections from *Our United States*, the eighth-grade history text that was condemned by Negro groups because of its false picture of the history of Negroes in this country. As a result of a year-long battle with the



PIONEER. Educator and philosopher John Dewey opened the fight for progressive education in the U.S. half a century ago. But today the nation's teaching methods system remains pitifully inadequate and backward.

Board of Education, the chapters dealing with the Negro were finally supplemented with a special pamphlet and just recently the school board voted to discontinue use of the text altogether.

"It isn't only the sections on Reconstruction that are false," the speaker pointed out, quoting sections dealing with foreign policy. The book explained how much the American soldiers were loved throughout the world because they gave candy bars to the little children of countries like Viet Nam. Other sections carefully detail how much money U.S. capitalists have donated to charitable and educational institutions.

Mythological Picture

The mythological picture presented students about peaceful suburbia and lovable American imperialism does not prepare them to cope with the realities of ghetto life. Nor does the present emphasis on job skills prepare them for the automated future they must soon face.

"Should we really teach these students skills to make them economically competitive in today's market?" the speaker asked. "If you accept the fact that automation is a specter on the scene, then in a generation or two many of us will not be working. Many things will change. We live in a society today where we define our social values ourselves in terms of our jobs. We will need a new psychology, new definitions, new

skills. Perhaps one of the things schools today could do is to look for new skills to teach students. What are the possibilities of a human being? A whole area of human development has not been explored to date."

Since the school bureaucrats are not meeting the needs of the modern urban ghetto child, Whipple feels, "Parents should be involved in direct decision-making in schools in areas like curriculum, text books."

Two days after Whipple made this statement to the forum audience, Detroit newspapers carried articles about a set of integrated reading primers prepared by the Detroit schools. There are two unusual things about these first-grade readers: They are the first in 277 years of primer publication to introduce non-Caucasian characters and they are set in the city, not the suburbs or on grandma's farm.

The teachers who wrote the books used tape recordings to familiarize themselves with the typical speech of inner-city children from low-income families. They picked the 28 most common words and built up simple realistic stories about a Negro family and a young white playmate. Exhaustive comparative tests have proven that children learn to read better from these books and enjoyed them so much that they would read them during "free play" time.

Sample sets have been ordered by cities like New York, Cleveland, Washington and Seattle. The Detroit schools have already received several thousand dollars in advance royalties on these books and expect eventually to get more than \$100,000. If this limited project has proven so enriching to both the children and the school treasury, why not do the same with texts in history and other fields?

... Ala. Raid

(Continued from Page 1)

intimidation of and discrimination against potential Negro voters. The case is still in the courts.

DEC. 23 — The five Alabama National Guardsmen charged with setting off bombs near the University of Alabama campus at a time they were under federal orders to protect it, have been freed on \$5,000 bail.

The five, including Lieut. James T. Perkins, were attached to the unit which was called out by Alabama Governor George C. Wallace last June. Wallace at that time was trying to halt the admission of Negro student Vivian Malone to the university. The governor withdrew after President Kennedy federalized the Guard and ordered it to protect the campus from disturbances.

Disturbances, however, occurred — in the form of three dynamite blasts. One bomb exploded Nov. 16 near the dormitory which housed Miss Malone.

One of the astounding aspects of the case is that, while the Guard was under federal orders, federal agencies apparently were not involved in the investigation. The case was cracked by the police department of the city of Tuscaloosa. Nor did state police involve themselves in the investigation. The military superiors of the five accused guardsmen shrugged off the arrests with the comment that the men probably planted the bombs so their unit would be kept on the scene. "It was an easy duty," an officer said.

This theory was disputed by a local police investigator who said that a spirit of defiance of federal authority was rife in the Guard, many of whose members vociferously supported Gov. Wallace's stand against integration of the university.

Socialist Education Fund

We Made It — In Full, On Time

By Marvel Scholl
Fund Director

Happy New Year! The Socialist Education Fund has gone over the top!

In reflecting back over these past three months, it can be said that the success of this fund campaign, and the *Militant* sub drive which ran concurrently, are tributes to the socialist program upon which this newspaper and its companion organs — the *International Socialist Review* and the books and pamphlets on socialism — are dedicated. But even more than that — they are tributes to the men and women who made them possible. It took a lot of "blood, sweat and tears" to complete quotas in places like Seattle where the fund director, James Curtis, said: "personally I don't remember a time when so many of our friends were out of work at the same time."

I would like also to pay special tribute to the valiant band of young people (some of them not so young chronologically) in Chi-

cago who sent in an additional \$200 to put them over the top by 18 per cent.

And to three very special friends, H. C. of Ohio, J.B. of Plentywood, Mont., and L.M. of Pittsburgh, who put General over the top with generous contributions. These three people really represent something special — all are pensioners, living on the ragged edge of poverty, yet all three are young in heart, socialist to the core, determined to do their share so that the youth of today can have a socialist tomorrow.

With such examples from both ends of life's span, how can we, who represent all variations in that chronology, fail in our determination to fight for a socialist society for mankind? We pledge ourselves to go forward in the fight for a world of peace, happiness and plenty for all. The truth shall make all of us free! For without truth there is no freedom. And without freedom there can be no truth.

Rights Group Demands Return of Records

SCEF Presses Fight on La. 'Anti-Red' Law

NEW ORLEANS, La. — A case challenging the constitutionality of Louisiana's communist control laws was taken under advisement by a three-judge federal court on Dec. 9.

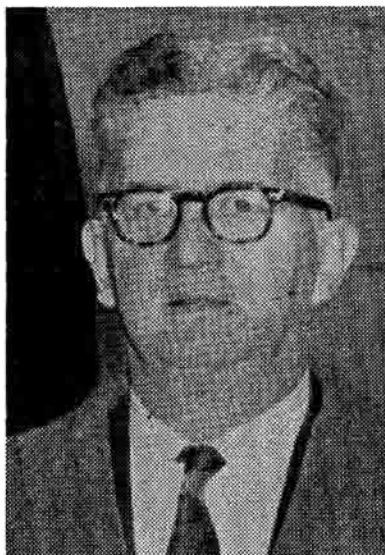
The Southern Conference Educational Fund and its executive director, James A. Dombrowski, original plaintiffs in the case, were joined by attorneys Benjamin E. Smith and Bruce C. Waltzer, whose request for intervention was granted by the court.

Smith, who is the Fund's treasurer, and his law partner, Waltzer, were arrested along with Dombrowski on Oct. 4 for allegedly violating the state anti-communist statutes — as managers of a "subversive" organization and for distributing "communist" literature, — and all SCEF records were seized. Conspiracy charges against the three men were dismissed by a Criminal District Court, but the records were not returned to SCEF.

The plaintiffs are now asking for a temporary injunction against state and city officials preventing them from enforcing the statutes, and prohibiting the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities (LUAC) from turning over the seized SCEF records to the Orleans Parish Grand Jury.

Laws Superseded

At the hearing before Judge John Minor Wisdom of the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals and Federal Judges Frank B. Ellis and E. Gordon West, attorneys for the plaintiffs argued that the state anti-communist laws are superseded by federal legislation and are in violation of the 14th Amendment of the U.S. constitution. Milton Brener, New Orleans attorney for SCEF, argued that the defendants know that the SCEF



Carl Braden, SCEF Field Sec'y

is a civil-rights organization and that there is no evidence of communism or subversion in the seized documents.

The court took under advisement a motion by Jack Rogers, counsel for the LUAC, to quash a subpoena issued by attorneys for the plaintiffs for production of the records taken during the raids. He claimed that these are now official records of the Louisiana Legislature, "used in the commission of a crime." After some reluctance, however, Rogers consented to present the court with photostatic copies of the documents within a few days.

Arthur Kinoy, New York, representing Dombrowski and SCEF, argued that the terms and definitions in the statutes — e.g., "communist," "communist front" — are so broad and indefinite that they make it possible for the state "to sweep into a dragnet people engaged in peaceful, constitutional

efforts," such as SCEF's program to promote racial equality.

"Is it possible that racial segregation is considered part of the constitution of Louisiana?" Kinoy asked the court. "Are activities considered illegal that promote its abolition? . . ." "These statutes have been written," said Kinoy, "as if the First and Fourteenth Amendments do not exist . . . Every precept, every canon, every concept of constitutional law enunciated for years by the Supreme Court to enforce the precious freedoms of the First Amendment have been ignored . . . They are patently void on their face."

The court reserved decision on the case and granted a continuation of the temporary restraining order prohibiting prosecution of the plaintiffs until the full determination of the state laws' constitutionality. Before reaching their decision, it is likely that the three judges will schedule another hearing at which witnesses for SCEF and the State will present evidence.

Defendants in Case

Defendants in the case include: Major Russell Willie of the state police; Attorney General Jack P. Gremillion; Colonel Thomas D. Burbank, head of the state police; Governor Jimmie H. Davis; district attorney Jim Garrison; and James H. Pfister, chairman of LUAC, who was defeated as a state representative in the Dec. 7 primaries by a vote of two to one.

Leon D. Hubert, former District Attorney of New Orleans, represented Smith and Waltzer. In addition to Kinoy and Brener, Dombrowski and SCEF were represented by William Kunstler of New York, national trial counsel for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and of counsel A. P. Tureaud of New Orleans.

... Analysts Pose Queries on Oswald Case

(Continued from Page 1)

tice." And further: "Much of the FBI report on the crime has been developed through questioning of Mrs. Oswald." Holding a person incommunicado for long periods of time is an old police trick for making the subject putty in the hands of interrogators.

In this connection, it was earlier "leaked" to the press that Mrs. Oswald allegedly said her husband had mentioned a shooting attack on the ultra-right racist Gen. Edwin A. Walker and that Dallas police reported the bullet in the Walker attack came from the alleged Kennedy assassination rifle. These stories were reported in headlines across the nation. But the Dec. 21 *New York Times* reports at the bottom of page 12 that "it has been disclosed that ballistics tests conducted by the FBI have failed to establish that a bullet fired at . . . Walker last April was from the type of rifle used to kill President Kennedy."

Some penetrating questions

were raised in an article by Jack Minnis and Staughton Lynd in the Dec. 21 *New Republic*. It establishes, as does Lane's brief, glaring contradictions in versions of the crime previously announced or "leaked" by Dallas and federal authorities. This is particularly true regarding the wound in the President's neck. If — as the Dallas doctors reported — a bullet entered the neck from the front, it could not have been fired from the building where Oswald worked. In making this point, Lane predicted that the police version is "soon to be rewritten, no doubt." Sure enough, the day after the *New Republic* hit the stands a new "leak" appeared in the press, claiming that an autopsy in Washington had shown the Dallas doctors to be mistaken.

Perhaps the most puzzling discovery in the Minnis-Staughton analysis is that, while witnesses seem to agree that three shots were fired, at least four bullets figure as "evidence." One of these lodged in the President's body, one in Gov. Connally's leg, fragments of another were found in the car, and another bullet was reported found by federal agents "on a stretcher."

Cloud Pedigree

The only ballistics evidence so far reported is based on the bullet found on the stretcher, and the fragmented one found in the car. These bullets, the *New Republic* article points out, have the "cloudiest pedigree."

An editorial in the Dec. 28 *Nation* magazine comments: "The public should maintain an alert, skeptical, wholly critical attitude; nor should public concern abate merely because the Warren Commission has set to work. For one thing the role that the FBI played, according to its own account, in relation to the Dallas police and to the Secret Service, is itself a subject of legitimate public concern,

and the FBI — according to its past record — is not to be trusted to pass judgment on its own activities.

"The public is entitled, specifically, to an explanation of the motive which led the FBI to 'leak' aspects of its report before it was delivered to the Chief Justice, much less released to the public."

Confidence Unwarranted

The *Nation* says further: "Nor should the public give a blank check of credence and confidence to the Warren Commission." The liberal magazine praises the Chief Justice but declares: "the commission is not as well balanced in make-up as it should have been; it is heavily weighted in favor of the 'official' or Establishment view. A majority might be inclined, for example, to seal off further inquiry with a brisk 'official' report and to ignore sensitive aspects of the matter, including the role of the FBI, the Secret Service and of the Dallas Police."

The Mark Lane brief makes a similar point: "The FBI investment in a Warren Commission finding identical with its own cannot be emphasized too boldly. Should the Warren Commission reach and publish a conclusion substantially different from the one submitted so publicly by the FBI, public confidence in the FBI would be so shaken as, in all likelihood, to render the FBI as it is now constituted, almost absolutely useless. One can assume that the FBI wishes to avoid that result."

"It may be argued on many different levels of governmental life that a finding by the commission that an American lynched in a Dallas courthouse might be innocent, would result in the further destruction of the American image abroad. It will be extremely difficult for any commission, in these circumstances to bear the responsibility imposed upon it."

Author John O. Killens Asks Question: Did Revolution of 1776 Die Still-Born?

NEW YORK — Speaking at a Brooklyn Congress of Racial Equality meeting Dec. 12 at Boys High School in Brooklyn, John O. Killens, novelist, screenwriter and lecturer, raised the question as to whether the American Revolution ever occurred. "Did the Revolution die a still-born death?" the writer asked, and asserted, "The African-American is the living evidence of whether the Revolution of 1776 was fake or reality."

Killens is author of the novel, *Youngblood*, and the screenplay, *Odds Against Tomorrow*, and the current best-selling novel of Negro soldiers in World War II entitled, *And Then We Heard The Thunder*. He is acting chairman of the new organization, the Association of Artists for Freedom.

Speaking about the "No Shopping for Christmas" campaign, the author said it grew out of the shocked reaction to the murder of the children of Birmingham, as they sat in Sunday School studying the life of Jesus. In this atmosphere of violence in which children are bombed and presidents are assassinated, to celebrate Christmas as usual with the orgy of Christmas shopping would constitute a mockery to the Jewish carpenter-philosopher, who was the Prince of Peace and Brotherhood and who was born in a manger in Bethlehem because Mary and Joseph could find no room at the hotels of that city.

Killens said that a lot of myths would have to bite the dust before the Negro achieved human dignity in this country. "Certainly if the movement has to decide between Santa Claus and freedom, Santa Claus will have to go. We are people too mature to believe in this fat Anglo-Saxon myth of a jolly good fellow anyhow. He always discriminated against black and poor people anyhow. It is not the children we have to convince, but the shackled-to-the-status-quo parents who told the children the lie in the first place."

"To Americans who cannot kick the habit this year," Killens asked them to make their gifts in the form of contributions to the civil-rights organizations which are striving to save the country in this time of crisis.

He compared the reluctance of



Photo by Al Thompson

John O. Killens

the Negro to bring his struggle before the court of world opinion, "to the woman whose husband beats her, but she never cries aloud because she's afraid that if she does the neighbors will know what's happening. Such a woman deserves to be beaten," Killens asserted. "Unrequited love is a rather sick bit under any circumstances."

The angry author went on to say: "It is the job of the Negro artists to un-brainwash the American people in general and the Negro people in particular. Western men put words into our mouths and made us sing: 'All the darkies am a'weepin' — Massa's in the cold, cold ground.' But if the slaves were weeping, they were crying for joy and shouting halleluyeh. 'Summer time and the living is easy!' The author asserted, "certainly Negroes know more than any other people in America that the living is never easy."

He called on the Negro artists to assist the movement by helping to set up Freedom Theaters throughout America and particularly in the South, and to assist in creating Writers' Workshops especially in the South where the greatest drama in the world is being enacted.

Italian Notables Urge Johnson To Grant Freedom to Sobell

NEW YORK — President Lyndon B. Johnson now has before him a plea from 27 leading Italian political figures and intellectuals which his predecessor did not have an opportunity to see.

The appeal, sent to the late President Kennedy the week of the Dallas assassination, urges the freedom of Morton Sobell, who has maintained his innocence of the conspiracy to commit espionage charge on which he is now in his fourteenth year of imprisonment.

His wife, Mrs. Morton Sobell, in announcing the appeal from Italy, said that she was convinced that the late President Kennedy had been preparing to free her husband. "It is impossible that following the release of Douglas Chandler and Tomoya Kawakita, who were convicted of treason and aiding our enemies in Germany and Japan, President Kennedy would have permitted my innocent husband to remain in prison."

Diverse Viewpoints

Among the signers, cutting across diverse political viewpoints, are: Writers Alberto Moravia, Pier Paolo Pasolini, Nobel Prize-winner Salvatore Quasimodo and Elio Vittorini, secretary of the European Writers' Community (COMES); the painter Renato Guttuso; film director Federico

Fellini; the Catholic philosopher Carlo Arturo Jemelo; the Republican Party lawyer and politician Leopoldo Piccardi; the editor of the Communist Party paper *L'Unita* and Deputy Mario Alicata; the Socialist Vittorio Foa, assistant general secretary of the Italian General Confederation of Labour and Senator Franco Parri, leader of the Italian Resistance Council.

They assert in their plea: "We feel the wish to unite our voice with those of so many eminent people who, from all parts of the world, have asked you to commit an act of justice and humanity in favour of Morton Sobell."

"This man, condemned to prison in the climate of one of the darkest periods in the history of the United States — the period of McCarthyism — is still in prison, ill, for almost 14 years. As men who have devoted their lives to cultural activity and, as such, have learned that even a single offense to justice is always an offense to the entire human society, we ask you, Mr. President, to have Morton Sobell's case re-examined and to restore freedom to this man."

"Our appeal is addressed to you, Mr. President, for the sake of the honour of that society to which you and we belong. Please accept, Mr. President, our most deferential greetings."

Documents of the Negro Struggle

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The Soviet Agricultural Crisis

Why Khrushchev Is Buying U. S. Wheat

By E. Germain

PARIS (World Outlook) — The Soviet Union today faces grave difficulties in food supplies, perhaps the gravest since the death of Stalin. Two successive bad harvests coupled with a considerable increase in requirements — due to a rise in population and an increase in grain-fed livestock — have resulted in a big deficit in cereals this year. The deficit can be made up only by heavy purchases of wheat and corn from the capitalist countries, since reserves in the workers' states have been systematically lowered in order to stabilize food supplies for the cities during the past decade.

Various figures have been cited as to the extent of projected Soviet purchases, the most reliable being \$1 billion of which more than \$600 million is earmarked for Canada, from \$250 to \$300 million for the U.S. and the balance for Australia and France. Last year the USSR bought \$250 million worth of wheat (mostly in Canada).

In addition to the \$1 billion order, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria are in the market for wheat.

Payment will be made in gold and "Eurodollars" (so-called "accounting units" used for exchanges within the Common Market area). During September alone the USSR sold \$220 million worth of gold (around 200 tons), an amount equal to total Soviet gold sales during all of 1962. The Soviet government generally prefers to pay for its purchases in dollars — even if they must be bought or borrowed at high premium — because of the difference between the cost price of gold in the Soviet Union (commonly estimated at about \$60 an ounce) and the official purchase price of gold in the capitalist countries, which oscillates around \$35 an ounce. As long as this cost differential exists, the Soviet economy suffers heavy losses with every big sale of gold in the West.

It has been denied in some quarters that economic necessity forced Khrushchev to seek these huge quantities of wheat in the

capitalist countries. According to this view, the current commercial operations are a clever maneuver through which the Kremlin is developing its policy of "peaceful coexistence."

This is, of course, nonsense. Many foreign visitors have noticed the marked deterioration of food supplies during recent weeks. Even bread queues have reappeared in some of the big cities. Khrushchev has publicly admitted that the harvest was bad this year. His half-hearted essay at self-criticism was all the more damaging, since his reputation was staked on rapid solution of the agrarian problem in the Soviet Union. The Soviet press is full of stories about grave neglect in the agricultural sector — part of the harvest rotting in the fields of Kazakhstan because of delay in harvesting, the usual accounts of tractors breaking down because of lack of spare parts, etc., etc. Finally, frantic public appeals by the bureaucracy not to use bread or wheat as food for chickens and hogs have underlined the seriousness of the situation.

It is true, however, that heavy Soviet purchases of wheat in the capitalist countries, especially the projected deal of \$250 to \$300 million in the U.S., have the objective consequence of helping the Kennedy-Johnson administration, if it wishes, to remove barriers to rapprochement with the Soviet bureaucracy.

Current overproduction of wheat in the U.S., which resulted in enormous surpluses, is one of the main economic problems of the Middle West. This is the classical area of isolationist sentiment and a stronghold of the extreme right-wing opposition to collaboration with the Soviet bureaucracy. The wheat deal will most probably help the Kennedy-Johnson administration to soften this opposition and to bring the isolationists around to abandoning their resistance to extending commercial relations with the Soviet Union. The sale of industrial equipment (in the field of plastics and chemical fertilizers, for example) may well be a coming step.

A sector of the American bour-

geoisie, including some of the more intelligent Eastern bankers and heads of finance capital, have long considered that congressional resistance to widening trade relations with the Soviet Union is absurd and detrimental to the interests of American imperialism — especially when Wall Street's main competitors, the British, German, Japanese, French and Italian imperialists, are selling an increasing amount of heavy industrial equipment to the Soviet Union, the East European workers' states and even China.

The truth remains, however, that these consequences of Soviet entry into the American wheat market are only a by-product (like the unexpected windfall to U.S. imperialism of an amelioration of the problem of its deteriorating balance of payments). Essentially the purchases were made as a result of the permanent agricultural crisis in the Soviet Union, of the inability of the Soviet bureaucracy and its present Khrushchev leadership to take decisive steps toward solving this crisis.

Man-power Waste

The permanent crisis of Soviet agriculture has two basic roots: 1) a price and supply structure of agricultural versus industrial consumers' goods that takes away the incentives for a constant increase in agricultural production in the countryside; 2) an enormous investment lag in agriculture. Soviet farms, even today, have less mechanical horse-power at their disposal than live horses before Stalin's forced collectivization. The insufficiency of fertilizers is notorious.

The result is tremendous waste of man-power in the countryside, the average productivity of the Soviet *kolkhoznik* (collective farmer) being not much more than ten per cent of that of the American farmer. While Soviet industry measures up to the highest standards of technology and productivity, Soviet agriculture remains essentially at the level of primitive, extensive methods, even though 1,500,000 tractors are in use.

In 1953, Malenkov and Khrushchev frankly recognized the sad state of affairs in Soviet agriculture and began to try to remedy the situation by radically increasing the prices which the state sets for deliveries from the *kolkhozes* (collective farms). Later, Khrushchev made various other concessions to the peasants, the most spectacular being the sale to the *kolkhozes* of tractors and heavy agricultural equipment which up until then had been property of the state-owned MTS (Machine Tractor Stations).

Yielded Results

Each of these concessions undoubtedly yielded results. Out-put increased and the *kolkhozes* accumulated huge balances in rubles. But in exchange for these rubles, the Soviet economy proved unable to offer the peasants a growing stream of industrial consumers' goods that would have served as incentive for constant increases in production. Instead, attempts were made to siphon away the rubles. Besides tractors light industrial equipment was offered the *kolkhozes*. The machines could be used in the co-operative manufacture of such items as tinned food, sausages, cakes, etc., that could be freely sold in the cities in shops owned by the *kolkhozes*. But again the balance sheet proved to be too one-sided to attract the peasants to both increase output and to observe strict cost-accounting procedures.

Khrushchev again tried to get around the difficulty instead of solving it. He launched his campaign to turn to the "virgin soil" of Siberia and Kazakhstan. Huge



AMERICA'S CONTRADICTION. While millions throughout the world go to bed hungry at night, bins like these, bulging with surplus grain, dot the U.S. landscape. Now Washington has finally decided to sell some of the surplus wheat to the USSR. For cold-war reasons it still refuses to sell to China.

state farms — *sovkhozes* — were set up in these arid provinces and one million Soviet workers, principally youth, were sent there to create — often under terrible living conditions — a plentiful supply of wheat and meat for the Soviet people.

Khrushchev had been warned, however, that without immense irrigation projects, the plowing up of these lands — a project already studied and abandoned in Czarist times — would be very dangerous. After a few years, the topsoil, stripped of grass and shrubs, its moisture depleted, would be picked up by the strong winds that sweep these huge plains unbroken by any natural obstacle, and the world's biggest dustbowl might be created.

Khrushchev disregarded the warnings — perhaps because they were underlined by the Trotskyists. He gambled — and lost. For the third consecutive year, the harvest on the "virgin lands" of the Far East was catastrophic. And the dust storms are affecting distant regions. Too late, the Soviet bureaucracy has come to the conclusion that only widespread irrigation and the massive use of fertilizers — a turn from constantly widening the area of extensive agriculture to increasing intensive agriculture on relatively smaller acreages — can do the job.

"Virgin Lands"

For Khrushchev's prestige, the failure of the "virgin lands" adventure is a terrible blow. Even worse, the shortage of wheat spells trouble in the animal-products supply (milk, butter and especially meat) in the coming winter and next year. This is on top of last year's sharp increase in the price of meat and butter which signified a sudden arrest in the uninterrupted increase in the Soviet workers' standard of living for the past ten years.

Khrushchev's policy is identified in the eyes of the Soviet workers with the promise of a better life. Consequently the Kremlin must do everything to bridge over the present crisis. Otherwise the position of the first secretary can soon come into serious question.

In view of all this, Khrushchev's boast not so long ago that by 1965 the production of the "socialist camp" would draw abreast or surmount that of the capitalist countries now sounds like a bad joke. The target date is not far off and there is not the slightest chance that Khrushchev can deliver on his promise.

And what should be said of a self-styled Marxist leader who speaks seriously about the Soviet Union having already achieved socialism and of now entering the stage of "communism" — when the people lack even sufficient quantities of bread?

Lest we be misunderstood, we repeat once again what we wrote at the time of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Notwithstanding the contradictions and the enormous waste due to bureaucratic mismanagement, the Soviet economy — especially industry — is growing at a rate at least twice if not three times that of the U.S. economy. Already, in national production and wealth, absolute yearly increases are bigger in the Soviet Union than in the U.S. This means — other things remaining equal — that the Soviet economy will sooner or later attain the absolute industrial production and national income of the U.S., and still later reach its *per capita* output and income.

Colossal Uprisings

But sober analysis of the economic situation makes this quite improbable for 1970 and even 1975. Only after that date, towards 1980, will the curves somehow cross. In the meantime, humanity will witness colossal revolutionary uprisings and transformations. And these, not "peaceful competition" between the American and Soviet economies, will decide the fate of mankind, the victory of world socialism and the possibility of finally eliminating the danger of a nuclear holocaust.

The Fourth International does not minimize in any way whatsoever the great thrust forward of the Soviet economy. It fully acknowledges the deeply progressive character of its successes, which — to quote Trotsky — express the superiority of planned economy and socialized means of production in the language of steel, cement and electricity.

But the Fourth International fits these achievements into the overall picture of world reality and of world revolution today. There they occupy an important but by no means decisive place. The latest dramatic expression of the permanent agricultural crisis in the Soviet Union is another reminder that it would be hopelessly utopian to stake everything on rapid decisive successes of the Soviet economy. The revolutionary masses of the world — and they alone — can successfully overthrow capitalism. To postpone this task until U.S. imperialism is beaten "economically" by a bureaucratically deformed Soviet economy implies fearful suffering for mankind and inordinate danger of nuclear destruction.

Fresh confirmation of the validity of relying on world revolution — in opposition to the Khrushchevite policy of "economic competition" as the essential means for overthrowing capitalism — that is the conclusion which should be drawn from Khrushchev's billion-dollar wheat deal.

...African Students in USSR

(Continued from Page 1)

Soviet citizens who saw or heard about the African students' airing of their grievances made a mental note of it for possible future action by themselves.

To revolutionary leaders like Lenin and Trotsky, the airing of grievances by a minority people would have been taken as an alarm signal. Lenin who waged an uncompromising struggle to purge the socialist movement of racial-national prejudices would have solidarized himself immediately with the Africans and begun a campaign to expose and reeducate those elements in the Soviet population guilty of prejudice.

But the leaders of today's Soviet bureaucracy did not even try to satisfy the students' requests. They curtly suggested that if they did not like the way things were in the USSR they were "free to leave." That the students did not back down in the face of this veiled threat was later seen at a student meeting. A university official's proposal that they dissociate themselves from the protest demonstration was rejected.

The discriminatory treatment of non-Russian and dark-skinned peoples is basically a legacy from the capitalist past. Indeed, Czarist Russia was one of the most prejudice-ridden nations in the world. The hope and human solidarity infused into the mass of workers and peasants by the Bolshevik Revolution overcame and obliterated most of this prejudice. But, when the bureaucracy headed by

Stalin, basing itself on the country's backwardness, rejected revolutionary internationalism and encouraged national narrow-mindedness, prejudice began to seep back again into the pores of Russian society.

Stalin fostered Great Russian chauvinism to bolster subjugation of other nationalities within the USSR. Anti-Semitism was used in his fight against Trotsky's Left Opposition and to furnish the more backward elements of the population a scapegoat for their economic and political frustrations.

The Great-Russian chauvinism and xenophobic attitudes fostered by Stalin continue under Khrushchev although they are being assailed by the younger generation which has chosen Yevgeny Yevtushenko as its spokesman.

Anti-African prejudice, however, is a type of bias that is not really native to the Russian scene. It is a spill-over from the Russian chauvinism whose brunt is borne mainly by minorities in the USSR, particularly by the Jews.

None of these prejudices are parts of socialism. When, in a country in transition from capitalism to socialism, a conservative, privileged bureaucracy usurps control from the masses, such evil flowers of the past will crop up for a while. When bureaucratic rule is replaced by the administration of the state and the economy by elected councils of the working people, then all injustices and prejudices will vanish in the great renovation.

Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters under 400 words. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Criticizes Dobbs' Statement

Los Angeles, Calif.

Frankly, Kennedy's assassination was not half as shocking to me as the statement Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, issued to the press regarding the assassination. I read it in the Dec. 2 issue

of *The Militant* and wish to quote especially the latter part which read as follows:

"Political differences within our society must be settled in an orderly manner by majority decision after free and open public debate in which all points of view are heard."

Under capitalism we do not have free and open debate and therefore the "majority," as we know it today, is meaningless as it is attained by unfair and unequal practices and methods. Does Dobbs contend that under a capitalist system we can ever hope to have "all points of view heard." If this is so, then he is no longer talking about our society but an already installed socialist society.

Marxists know socialism is the only true democratic society with equality for all points of view and cannot possibly be expected to exist in the present framework of class interests. I find Dobbs' statement to be contradictory and non-revolutionary in approach and would appreciate further clarification.

H.K.

Reply by Dobbs

New York, N.Y.

It is true that democracy is far more of a promise than a performance under U.S. capitalism. Many and growing restrictions are imposed upon the free expression of opinion and the exercise of genuine majority rule. Capitalist control of politics, the economy and the means of information and propaganda prevent the people from deciding the most important issues of their lives in their own interests.

This lack of real democracy makes it all the more imperative for socialists to demand the utmost extension of democratic rights within the existing system. This would provide the best conditions for the dissemination of socialist ideas and the mass struggle for a better world. The failure of the capitalist rulers to meet the demands for more liberty would be a powerful incentive for the people to institute a fundamental change in the system where a few rich dominate the many.

Socialists have the same attitude toward the struggle for democratic rights as toward the struggle for civil rights. Today Negroes are striving to achieve equality or gain greater freedom within the framework of the present system. Although we socialists believe that racial discrimination cannot be uprooted unless capitalist class society is eliminated, we unreservedly support every demand and action against the evils of Jim Crow here and now.

We are confident that through their own experiences with the capitalist power structure the majority of the white Americans, as well as the majority of the Negroes, will come to realize that the democracy and freedom they seek can only be attained along socialist lines.

Farrell Dobbs

Canadian View on Oswald

Toronto, Canada

After years of reading *The Militant* and practically losing my crit-

ically objective attitude because you are always so right I find myself pulled up sharply at your analysis of the Oswald case. Surely a radical movement that has had many experiences with frame-ups should give more consideration to the possibility that Oswald may have been the innocent victim of Southern "justice."

The masses of contradictory evidence piled up by the reactionary Dallas police and the eagerness with which they gave the verdict of guilty point strongly to this conclusion. For whatever Oswald really was, his public image was that of a pro-Castro Marxist. Reaction couldn't have found a better candidate for a first-class frame-up.

This seems to be the opinion of a surprisingly large minority here. Canadians are asking — what about the two guns? It was at first reported that a gun of German manufacture was used by the assassin. Then it was reported that Oswald had obtained a weapon of Italian make from a mail-order-house and this of course immediately became the murder weapon.

Why was Oswald released when found on the second floor of the building in question and then a few hours later hunted down in a theater by police.

The assassin allegedly fired three shots in five seconds with a bolt-action gun with telescopic sights. Yet the crack sharpshooting British Bisley team have broken the world record with a similar gun at four and a half seconds.

Lee Oswald said on his return from the Soviet Union, "They have silenced all dissenters just as they have here." It may well be that his name will find its place alongside those of Mooney and Billings, Sacco and Vanzetti, the

Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell as another victim of American "justice."

B.G.

[We have pointed to the numerous contradictions and inconsistencies in the evidence on the assassination thus far made available by the various police agencies. We have also sharply criticized the gross irregularities of both the Dallas police and FBI in the handling of the case. Insofar as Lee Oswald is concerned we, of course, subscribe to the elementary concept of justice that a man is innocent until proven guilty. EDITOR.]

Harlem Rent Strike

New York, N.Y.

Justice has finally come to some of the slumlords of Harlem. It is with great satisfaction that I have been reading in *The Militant* about the growth of the Harlem rent strike in the buildings on 117th and 118th Streets. I'm sure this is only the beginning since there are a lot more buildings in the area that it's a crime to collect rent for.

My education on the need for socialism came when I worked in that area and had the opportunity to visit many of the homes there. I learned some things about the ways of the landlords and the city administration.

For instance I learned that it really is possible to get the city health department to do something about the problem of rats biting children. All you have to do to get them to act is to have a premature baby of under five pounds in the apartment and they make the landlord cover the rat holes so the baby won't be dragged

off. There are problems related to this though. One is that hospitals generally don't permit babies of under five pounds to be taken home. So to get this kind of action you have to have a premature baby of the proper lack of weight born in the house.

The city is also helpful when a baby is born into a family where the father has just died. A visiting nurse is promptly sent in to explain carefully to the widow how to feed her family properly on the welfare allotment of pennies a day.

I remember one family that lived in a 103rd St. slum, that's been torn down now. There were two couples, the parent of one of the couples, and at least four kids all living in one room. Even though they saved up \$100 to pass under the table to some super to get an apartment, they couldn't find one to take them all. Where are they now? I hope they are among the families in the rent strike.

Then there are the "hotels" in the area where the kitchen and bath are shared with three to six other families. Rents run anywhere from \$15 to \$26 a week for one or two little rooms. The furniture usually belonged to the tenant but the "linen" is always supplied. These pitifully thin and ragged pieces of cloth are what makes these places "hotels" and outside the jurisdiction of rent control. I hope the rent strike spreads to these "hotels" too.

Besides the rats, the main complaint in these tenements is lack of heat and hot water and repairs. I don't think that even a premature baby in the house could move the city to do anything about these things, but a strong enough rent strike might do the trick.

P.R.

It Was Reported in the Press

The Difference — For years Washington has ignored protests against the flow of U.S. guns and dollars to Spain where they are used to prop up Franco's fascist tyranny over the Spanish people. But now the State Department has warned Spain that aid will be cut off if it doesn't stop trading with socialist Cuba.

"Freedom" Fighters — Three Cubans who chose "freedom" in the U.S. are charged by New York police with illegal possession of narcotics. Two are also charged with taking \$3,103 from a man they knocked down with a car. According to bystanders they leaped from the car after they hit the pedestrian and stripped him of his money. When apprehended they were also said to be in possession of suitcases containing \$68,000 worth of marijuana. They said they took the money from the injured man because they needed it to "fight Castro."

Pill Peddlers at Work — A federal grand jury has indicted the William S. Merrell Company on charges of concealing research findings which showed an anti-cholesterol drug, already used by 400,000 patients, damaged the eyes, ovaries and bloodstreams of monkeys, dogs and rats used to test the drug. The indictment said

the company concealed the fact that several rats died before the experiments were completed. The Merrell company was also a prime distributor of Thalidomide, the drug that resulted in the birth of deformed babies.

Decline of the British Empire — One of Britain's biggest commercial TV companies decided not to broadcast Queen Elizabeth's Christmas message. While the other 14 companies are broadcasting the royal message, the fifteenth will show an old movie.

Tell It to the Boss — Claude Dennis, a railroad worker, lost two fingers from frostbite working in the open in near zero weather with ten inches of snow on the ground and a heavy wind. He was awarded \$10,000 damages by a Utah jury after it was established that he had not been as warmly dressed as other workers on the job and had in-

formed the foremen he was cold. The verdict was set aside by the Utah Supreme Court but reinstated by the U.S. Supreme Court. Justice Douglas dissented. He said we live "in a society where everyone is presumed to have enough sense 'to come in out of the cold.'" He didn't say what to do when a foreman disagrees and a job may be at stake.

Free-Enterprise Education — Pupils at a New York public school for emotionally disturbed pupils have been shining teachers' shoes, polishing their cars and doing janitorial work in return for subway tokens doled out to them from the Board of Education's supply. The school's principal and several teachers are said to have admitted they had the students shine their shoes. The principal and his assistant were suspended after the situation was called to the attention of the Board of Education by civil-rights attorney Paul Zuber.

20 YEARS AGO

"How two great profit-mad corporations deliberately endangered the lives of American troops by passing off on the government millions of dollars worth of defective and improperly inspected war materials was revealed last week in the federal trial of the Anaconda Wire and Cable Corp., subsidiary of the giant Anaconda Copper trust, and by the Federal Grand Jury indictment of ten supervisory employees of the St. Louis Ordnance Plant, government-financed ammunition plant run by the U.S. Cartridge Company, subsidiary of the giant Western Cartridge Company.

"A parade of witnesses, including many self-implicated officials of Anaconda Wire, testified in damning detail before the Federal District Court at Providence, R.I., about the elaborate tricks devised in the company's Pawtucket, R.I., plant to evade government inspection standards and palm off on the government defective wire and cable intended for signaling in actual combat. The company had previously been convicted of similar murderous practices in its Marion, Ind., plant, but had escaped real punishment by paying the insignificant fine of \$31,000.

"In the St. Louis Ordnance Plant case, the defendants are charged with conspiracy to defraud the government in connection with the packing and shipment of improperly inspected small-arms ammunition, used primarily in close-quarter combat." — Jan. 1, 1944.

Thought for the Week

"Despite the administration's public statements that it will not tolerate any armed expeditions from the United States by Cuban exiles, it is widely believed that a continuous flow of weapons is going to underground and guerrilla groups inside Cuba, even though there is no real confidence in government circles about the effectiveness of these groups. All indications are that the pressures will be stepped up under the Johnson Administration. President Johnson's top Latin American aide, Thomas C. Mann, who . . . has toured Texas lecturing about the danger of Communist subversion, was reliably known to have favored an air strike against Cuba during the missile crisis." — A Washington dispatch in the Dec. 22 *New York Times*.

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"The Alliance for Progress is very successful—we're getting a much better class of military dictator"

San Francisco Chronicle

WASHINGTON, Dec. 14 — The United States recognized the military-backed regimes of the Dominican Republic and Honduras today after receiving their pledges to hold elections before the end of 1965. The Johnson administration is hopeful, but not convinced, that the promises will be carried out. — A news dispatch.

NEWS FROM ANGOLA

Anti-Portuguese Guerrillas Gain Ground

By Jay Garnett

Recent reports from northern Angola describe the increasing influx of arms and trained men across the border from the Congo as part of the first major drive against the Portuguese colonialists by the Angolan Liberation Army. The build-up is supported by war materiel mostly from Algeria, which is carried into Angola on the heads of bearers over narrow paths and is manned by 7,500 disciplined troops trained at Camp Kinkuzu in the Congo.

An extensive article in the Dec. 16 *New York Times* says this build-up "is directly linked with the struggle for independence throughout the white-dominated southern frontier of Africa . . . Holden Roberto, leader of the Angolan revolutionary government in exile, has pledged 'unlimited' support for African underground movements in South Africa, Southwest Africa, and Southern Rhodesia."

Interviewing scores of Africans in Portuguese-held Angola, the *Times* reporter came to this conclusion: "Black and white are separated by a gulf of suspicion so wide and deep it may never be bridged." That is another way of saying that the Angolan people do not and have never believed that they inhabited "overseas provinces" of Portugal. The Salazar dictatorship in Lisbon tried to perpetuate this fraud even after Algeria had exploded its French version by a successful seven-and-a-half years war for independence.

Further colonialist frauds are Portugal's vaunted "Christian civilizing mission in Africa" and her policy of "assimilation." The latter provided that if an African were "properly educated," could speak good Portuguese, and adopted Christianity, he could have the same rights as the Portuguese. However, only one per cent of the 4.5 million black Angolans were allowed to achieve this status, 90 per cent of them remaining illiterate.

The Portuguese imperialists also "civilized" the Angolan by making him work. Men, women, and children are subjected to forced labor all their lives.

Writing from Algiers last year, an Angolan exile stated, "The machinery of forced labor is so all-embracing that it leaves no room for an African worker to dodge it. He must either succumb or leave the country. For an Angolan to remain in his country without a job means, with very few exceptions, to be seized by the authorities and sent to work for a nominal wage . . . [which] amounts to less than \$60 a year, plus the barest minimum of food and lodging in barracks."

To escape this fate, the Angolan prefers to let himself be rounded up for work on contract to a private employer, in which case the conditions are little better. Provisions in the Portuguese 'Colonial Charter,' authorizing the colonial officials to use forced labor for public works and production of marketable crops, have been put into effect without restraint, according to the exile.

Rented Out

"Every year 250,000 Angolans are rented out to agricultural, mining, and construction concerns. In Mozambique (Portugal's colony on the east coast of Africa) 400,000 are subjected to forced labor, of whom 100,000 are exported to the mines of South Africa and the Rhodesias."

Most peasant farmers are forced to grow cash crops, which are bought by the government at low fixed prices.

The Angolan liberation fight has been going on for over two and a half years now. Flaring into the open with a mass uprising in Luanda, the capital, in February, 1961, the theretofore pent-up wrath of the Angolan people was countered by wholesale slaughter. Some 70,000 Angolans were killed within the next three months while the Portuguese colonialists lost only 1,000.

As the war continues, tens of thousands of Angolans are jammed into prisons. In certain areas of the country, the Portuguese troops, after suffering a reversal at the hands of units of the Angolan National Liberation Army, have descended on villages and arrested all the inhabitants — men, women, and children. Un-

believably savage tortures have then been inflicted — injection of poisons, burial of people up to the shoulder and then crushing them with tanks, hanging people by the feet for beatings that continue until death ensues.

With Camp Kinkuzu turning out reinforcements at the rate of 2,200 every week, the independence struggle has entered a new phase. The new African states have raised over \$500,000 through the Organization of African Unity to help finance Angolan and other anti-imperialist movements on the continent. African solidarity with the Angolans' fight is marked also by the presence in the Liberation Army of volunteers from other African colonies.

Live Off Land

The Liberation Forces live off the land and thus subsist mainly on their dedication to their cause. Officers and men dress alike and call each other "comrade," a designation borrowed from the Algerians.

Every soldier is a volunteer and, when he signs up, he swears to serve until independence is won. Most of them have been fighting in northern Angola for almost a year. Morale is high and the insurgents never seem to stop singing — "the Yellow Rose of Texas" is reported to be a favorite.

In the Serra de Candia mountain region — where stubborn Africans, who refuse to flee across the border to the Congo, live in refugee villages — the government-in-exile has an official in every refugee and army encampment. As part mayor and part political commissar, he registers births, deaths, and marriages, mediates civilian disputes and looks after a slow but operative postal system.

These are the seeds of the independent power. When they spread over the whole of Angola no one is certain what form the development will take. But establishing a truly representative regime, allowing the basic freedoms of speech and organization in labor unions, and carrying out a meaningful land reform are early items on the agenda of the Angolan Revolution.

Cleveland Rights Movement Sparks Effective Rent Strike

CLEVELAND — The Negro people's Freedom Now struggle in this city entered into a new, militant phase on Tuesday, Dec. 10, with a rent strike.

Its effects have been very dramatic. There has been widespread television, radio and newspaper coverage of the action and the living conditions which caused it. All this is embarrassing city hall and welfare and urban-renewal officials.

Cleveland's chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality had canvassed the ghetto slums for weeks. It consistently held the attitude that the tenants' wishes should govern any action to be taken.

One building, 8503 Hough Ave., was a prime example of high rents and inhuman conditions. It had only seven out of 30 apartments rented.

Beat Man to Punch

On Dec. 10 — the day on which families on relief received their checks — CORE representatives, followed by TV and radio reporters, beat the rent collector to the punch at that building. The rent money was converted into money orders and these were deposited in a safe-deposit box. Then the tenants demanded extensive repairs to the building, the cleaning out of empty apartments, cleaning of the grounds, installation of an incinerator and rent reductions.

That same day a Mr. Ross and his son, both of Ross Realty, the agent for the absentee owner of the building, met with CORE representatives. Regarding newspaper stories that a tentative agreement had been reached, Miss Ruth Turner, CORE executive secretary, later declared: "There was no agreement. We do not negotiate or make deals without the tenants."

Meanwhile, Ross reportedly threatened the tenants with eviction and the cutting off of utilities. He is also reported to have told them that CORE was a phony outfit which was just taking their money from them.

Reassured Tenants

At a meeting later CORE spokesmen reassured the tenants, especially by showing them that preparations had been made to meet any emergencies. Apartments and accommodations for children had been arranged for, if they should be needed, and moving vans were standing ready. Then plans were made for printing and distributing 10,000 leaflets with the slogan: "Fight Rats, Roaches and Rent Robbery."

Next day the city housing inspectors showed up at 8503 Hough Ave. and found 20 violations. Ross, who was rapidly becoming city hall's scapegoat in the case, sent vermin-exterminators.

In a meeting the same day,

CORE put heavy pressure on the county welfare agency. Four of the seven families living in the building were receiving county funds. Did not this mean that the county welfare officials "approved" of these housing standards? With red faces, county officials announced that in the future they would withhold rent money, "if there were violations."

CORE and the Hough-area groups also turned their fire on the University-Euclid Urban Renewal Agency. "We are angry with an urban renewal agency which has crawled at snail's pace in Hough and has utterly failed to rehabilitate buildings such as this," declared Arthur Evans, chairman of Cleveland CORE.

Pickets were out Dec. 13 and more lines are being organized. A sound truck and leaflets will further spread their message.

Executive Secretary Ruth Turner of Cleveland CORE said in an interview that her organization considered a strong, quick victory desirable as a spur to further organization of tenants. "Mr. Ross will just have to give in," she said. "He's become everybody's scapegoat." She added that CORE was prepared for extensive direct action and civil disobedience should that become necessary. The tenants of four more buildings, she said, are ready for action already and more than ten may be involved by the end of January.

Miss Turner also said: "The tenants are the real leaders here. These people have been manipulated and cheated so often that there's no other way to gain their confidence. Maybe we're borrowing a leaf from the Black Muslims' book here. Only the people leading themselves can realize their own strength."

N.Y. Tenants Will Bring Rats to Court

By Robert Vernon

NEW YORK — Plans to step up the expansion of the Harlem Rent Strike were discussed at a meeting of some 20 organizations in Harlem's Mt. Morris Presbyterian Church Dec. 19.

Local Harlem tenants' organizations, some churches, Hospital Workers Local 1199, CORE, the Freedom Now Party, HARYOU (Harlem Youth Unlimited), Northern Student Movement, and some local Democratic clubs were among the organizations represented. The meeting formed the Rent Strike Co-ordinating Committee.

The Community Council on Housing, initiator of the rent strike, called the meeting to discuss ways and means of involving other forces and organizations in the fight. The Council, located at 6 E. 117 St., seeks to extend the strike to 1,000 tenement buildings.

Plans were laid to map out a more complete coverage of the entire Harlem area, with the various organizations represented undertaking shares of the work. Practical problems in rent-strike work were thrashed out in discussion.

Greater enthusiasm for action is evident among tenants. Whereas weeks ago tenants were doubtful whether a strike was the best way to struggle or whether it could succeed, their attitude now may be summed up by such questions as, "When do we strike?" or "I've got my building ready to withhold rent — are you ready to organize us?"

Tenants are planning to bring their rats with them into court when their case comes up. One woman caught 18 four-legged unwanted guests in one night — as Exhibit A.

Eyeing New Path To Integration?

Workers for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, moving into Northern Florida for the first time, may have found a new road to integration.

Several Florida A&M students, along with SNCC field secretary Sam Shirah, entered the white cafeteria of the Florida State Capitol Building in Tallahassee recently, got in line, and were pleased to find that the cashier did not refuse to take their money.

The cashier is blind.